

LA FOLIE TRISTRAN

AN ANGLO-NORMAN POEM

EDITED BY

ALBERT EUGENE CURDY

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY
WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1902

PART I

BALTIMORE:

JOHN MURPHY COMPANY

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PREFACE.

The Douce version of *La Folie Tristan* was suggested to me as the subject for a dissertation by Professor F. M. Warren, of Yale University, during the course of his lectures on the Breton Cycle at The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, in the spring of 1900. The complete dissertation was presented to the Board of University Studies of The Johns Hopkins University in May, 1902, and was accepted by them in fulfillment of the requirements of the university for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The pages here offered represent only a portion of the work done, the scope of which is indicated in the table of contents attached to this extract from the complete dissertation.

I should have liked to present at this time the entire result of my study of the manuscript and poem, *La Folie Tristan*, but in the time at my disposal I have not been able to complete the work as should be done for an edition; hence, I have preferred to postpone the publication of the entire work to a later date, when I purpose to publish an edition of the poem which I hope may be complete in detail and accurate in treatment. My only excuse for presenting these few pages at this time is that the regulations of The Johns Hopkins University demand it. I have thought best to include here only the chapters on the Description of the Douce Manuscript, The Douce Manuscript in Literature, and Tonic Vowels. There are probably omissions in the second chapter mentioned which should be supplied.

The name of the hero of this poem occurs in various forms in the poems of different authors. In the poem treated in these pages, *Tristan* is the constant form. I have used that spelling always when mentioning the name in connection with this poem. When quoting, or when making use of the name in connection with other monuments, I have used the spellings found there.

In my treatment of the Phonology and Morphology I have observed the following plan. Under each heading, as, for in-

stance, Free Ë (page 20), I have placed the developments in the order of the frequency of their occurrence, placing first under each development such forms as are supported in rime or are interesting on account of their rime. Unless otherwise indicated all examples of a development are given. The forms found in *La Folie Tristan* are stated first, then citations from other texts and authors are given.

All Latin or German words or letters under consideration are in capitals; all French words or letters are italicized.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. E. M. B. Nicholson, M. A., Librarian of the Bodleian Library, who, during my stay in Oxford in the summer of 1901, very generously assisted me in my work by many helpful suggestions, and also by personally interesting himself in the examination of the paleography of the manuscript of the poem here under consideration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DOUCE MANUSCRIPT.

The poem, *La Folie Tristan*, is found in a single manuscript now in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. It bears the number Douce d. 6. The manuscript is described as follows by Falconer Madan, M. A., Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library¹: "21983. In French, on parchment: written in the 13 and 14 cent.: 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., 46 leaves, chiefly in double columns. 1; (fol. 1) Two fragments of a French poetical version of the romance of *Tristram*, copied successively into the present volume in the 13 cent. The first *beg.* 'Cui pur *Tristan* es cuer se dolt,' after a leaf or more lost, *ends* at the middle of the first column of fol. 12^v, 'Sun esperit aitant rendit' (1811 lines): the second *beg.* on the next column '*Tristan* surjurne en sun pais' *ends* 'Mult set ben ke il herbigez' (996 lines), and is succeeded immediately in the same column by the next piece. A long account and discussion of

¹ *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.* Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1895. Vol. iv, p. 622.

these pieces by Douce follow,¹ embodying the opinions of others. The first fragment seems to be the close of the romance, the second an episode poem from an earlier part. The author appears to be 'Thomas.' The greater parts of these fragments are unique, and differ in orthography and perhaps style: they are printed in full with a facsimile of the first 19 lines of the second fragment, by Francisque Michel (*Tristan*, 3 vols., Lond. 1835-9), who thinks the second piece may be complete in itself.

"2. (fol. 19). 'Hic incipit Certamen inter Humilitatem & Superbiam,' in French verse: *beg.* 'Vus ki creez en damne Deuz' ends 'Trestuz pusum alui venir. Amen.'

"3. (fol. 20^v). A short legendary account of the True Cross, in French prose: *beg.* 'Qui voudra oir e saver de la verraie Croiz': after which is a short Latin piece on the same subject, *beg.* 'Crux Xpristi conficiebatur.' These two pieces were added early in the 14th cent.

"Owned in the 15th cent. by 'John Fawne' (fol. 22^v). The absence of this MS. from the printed catalogue of 1840 is explained by Michel's remarks (*ut supra*, i. lvi) 'Ce manuscrit . . . par une disposition particulière de son ancien possesseur n'a point été légué à la Bibliothèque Bodlienne': presumably Douce's executors forwarded it later than the other MSS.

"Now MS. Douce d. 6."

To the description of Mr. Madan should be added the following: There are thirty-nine lines in each column ruled with a plummet. The paragraph initials are blue and red alternating. The initials of each verse are separated from the following letters by one space which is marked by perpendicular ruling. Some of the capitals are only larger forms of the miniscules. The colored initials are plain, and are without adorning tracery or ornamentation. The initials beginning the verses have a red line through them. The ink is dull brown with a slightly reddish tinge. The ink of the colored initials is still bright.

The poem which is treated in this dissertation occupies folios 12^v, column 3, to 19^r, column 1, line 20, after which immediately follows 'Hic incipit,' etc.

¹ After the last page of the manuscript.

Following page nineteen are several pages filled with notes in the handwriting of Mr. Douce. These are bound in with the manuscript. The pages of the manuscript have been numbered, and the numbering continues on the pages containing Mr. Douce's notes.

The notes are as follows :¹ " See Mr. Scott's *Tristan* xciii, 203. This MS. may have possibly formed part of an album belonging to some monastery ; because it contains, besides the two poems on *Tristan de Leonnais*, a long metrical dialogue between pride and humility, and a prose disputation on the cross. Mons. de Trepan who had abridged this romance, asserts that no *metrical romance* exists on this subject. It is evident that he is not quite correct in this assertion, but Mr. Douce's MS. contains, perhaps, the only remnant of the labours of the minstrels on this popular history. It is very doubtful whether the MS. even when entire, contained the whole story of *Tristan*, because it is not likely that its proprietors should have thought it worth while to transcribe the adventure which occupies the second poem after having written so circumstantial an account of his hero's death, if the same story had been told in other words. It may therefore be conjectured that he had at first procured only the concluding part of the romance, and, that having afterwards recovered one of the former cantos, he proceeded to copy it on the same page which contained the termination of the story.

" There is some reason to believe that the two parts were composed by different hands, because the orthography is different, and so is, I think, the style ; that of the second being concise and lively, while that of the former is diffuse and languid, besides which, the residence of King Mark is placed in London in the first poem, and in the second at the castle of Tintagel.

" Having carefully compared the language of both with that of the fabliaux published by Barbazon, I cannot believe them to be much more modern than those compositions, because the grammatical construction is at least equally simple, and many of the words appear to be even nearer to the original Latin, the parent

¹ These notes are partial copies of remarks in Walter Scott's *Sir Tristrem*, but are not in the phraseology of the edition of 1804. See my copy of Scott's remarks in the chapter on the Douce Manuscript in *Literature*, page 10.

of the romance dialects. From this test I should have little hesitation in ascribing them to the twelfth century ; but the author's mention of Thomas, who is probably the person noticed by Robert de Brunne is extremely embarrassing. I am almost inclined to believe that the Scotch poet must have flourished at an earlier period than that which is usually assigned to him."

Then follows a synopsis of the first piece with which we are not concerned here, after which is a remark concerning the second piece, the one containing our poem.

"The second fragment is much more entertaining. It contains only a single adventure, but in the course of it the poet has contrived to recapitulate nearly all the principal events of the romance."

On page 27 Mr. Douce continues : "Mr. Scott thinks they [the first and second poems in the manuscript] were by the author of Perceval, XLII. I cannot perceive any foundation for this opinion. Mons. de la Rue thinks that one at least of them was written by Thomas of Erceldon himself in barbarous French. Letter to me dated Nov., 1814. I am much inclined to this opinion after an attentive consideration of the extract in which Thomas is named, and who seems to speak for himself, as he does in my French MS. of the roman de Horn."

Following these remarks are statements that have no bearing on *La Folie Tristan*, so I pass them over.

Nothing is known regarding the early history of the manuscript. There is nothing in the notes which Mr. Douce added to the manuscript to give any clue to its history. Mr. Madan in his description of the manuscript¹ says : "Owned in the 15th cent. by John Fawne² (fol. 22^v). The absence of the manuscript from the printed catalogue of 1840 is explained by Michel's remark (ut supra i. lvi), 'Ce manuscrit . . . par une disposition particulière de son ancien possesseur n'a point été légué à la Bibliothèque Bodlienne' : presumably Douce's executors forwarded it later than the other manuscripts."

The Douce version of *La Folie Tristan*, has, so far as I know,

¹ O. c., p. 622.

² The name John Fawne, together with some rude sketches, appears on fol. 22^v of the manuscript.

been published but once. In 1835 Francisque Michel published it in a work entitled *Tristan, Recueil de ce qui reste des Poèmes relatifs à ses Aventures*. Londres, 3 volumes.¹ Selections from the poem are found in the chrestomathies of K. Bartsch² and L. Constans.³ Morf gives scattered verses in his article, *La Folie Tristan du Manuscrit de Berne*.⁴

THE DOUCE VERSION IN LITERATURE.

The first mention of the Douce version of *La Folie Tristan* of which I have knowledge is found in 1804 in Sir Walter Scott's edition of *Sir Tristrem*,⁵ in which he describes the manuscript as follows⁶: "This curious manuscript seems to have formed part of some volume belonging to a monastery; because it contains, besides two detached poems of the story of Tristan l'Amoureux, a long metrical dialogue between *Pride* and *Humility*, and a prose dissertation on the *cross*. It is written on vellum, and consists of 22 leaves. The handwriting apparently belongs to the 13th century. The first of the two parts contains a regular and circumstantial relation of the later adventures of Sir Tristrem, and terminates by his death, and by that of Ysolt. The other, a complete and separate episode, begins at the second column of the same page in which the other narrative is terminated, and contains only a single adventure; in which, however, a great part of the hero's history is artfully recapitulated. It is therefore probable that it was inserted in the monastic volume, principally on account of its presenting a short and lively summary of the preceding long and perhaps tedious history. Be this as it may, the two fragments

¹ Vol. II, pp. 89-137.

² 5th edition. Cols. 103-112 contain verses 665-996.

³ Pp. 135-137 contain verses 833-990.

⁴ *Romania* xv, pp. 558-574.

⁵ *Sir Tristrem; a Metrical Romance of the 13. Century; by Thomas of Ercildoune called the Rhymer*. Ed. fr. the Auchenleck MS. by Walter Scott. Edinburg, 1804. Pp. 203 ff.

⁶ See Mr. Douce's note on the same, p. 8 of this dissertation.

differ very considerably in their style ; the first being so verbose and diffuse while the second is concise, lively, and dramatic. The orthography of the two is different, and it is further to be observed, that, in the first poem, the residence of King Mark is placed in London, while in the second in the castle of Tintagel."

George Ellis¹ gives a prose translation, or rather, a paraphrase, of *La Folie Tristan* as found in the Douce Manuscript. This paraphrase, while giving the incidents in sequence, is not accurate as to details. The translator intercalates many ideas foreign to the poem. It is not necessary to note these additions here.

The next mention is by l'Abbé de la Rue.² "Le baron de Hagen a publié en allemand le Roman de Tristan avec les deux fragments français de ce Roman que M. Douce lui a communiqué ; mais j'ignore s'il a fait imprimer le texte original, ou simplement une traduction." Michel contradicts the statement of l'abbé de la Rue, and says :³ "M. Von der Hagen n'a donné ni le texte ni la traduction des deux morceaux du manuscrit Douce, que nous publions pour la première fois. Ils n'étaient auparavant connus au public que par les extraits qu'en a donnés George Ellis à la suite de Sir Tristrem." I have examined the works of Von der Hagen, and find that Michel is correct in his statement. In *Heldenbilder*⁴ Von der Hagen gives a synopsis of Gottfried's poem, and in the *Litterarischer Grundriss*⁵ Von der Hagen and Büsching mention the versions of Gottfried von Strassburg, Heinrich von Freiburg, and Ulrich von Tûrheim, and give passages from Ulrich. *La Folie Tristan* is mentioned in neither of the works of Von der Hagen just cited.

In 1835 Michel published his *Tristan*.⁶ This work contains the following pieces : 1, pp. 3-212, 4444 verses, the Bérout fragment ;

¹ *Sir Tristrem*, pp. 204 ff.

² *Essais historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères Normands et Anglo-Normands*. Caen, 1835. II, 264.

³ *Tristan*, etc., p. LXII.

⁴ *Heldenbilder*. Breslau, 1821, 1823. Vol. II, div. 1112. This portion of the work is not paged.

⁵ *Litterarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie von der ältesten Zeit bis in das sechzehnte Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1812.

⁶ *Tristan, Recueil de ce qui reste des Poèmes relatifs à ses Aventures*. Londres, 1835. 3 vols.

pp. 215–341, 576 verses, the Berne version of *La Folie Tristan*; II, pp. 1–85, 1818 verses, the poem of Thomas as found in the Douce manuscript; pp. 89–137, 996 verses, the Douce version of *La Folie Tristan*, etc. The remaining pieces in the second and third volumes are not of interest to us in this study. Volume one contains also an introduction in which Michel states the opinion held in his time regarding the authorship of the pieces in his volume.¹ In volume I, p. lix, he gives a description of the Douce manuscript which is essentially the same as that given by Mr. Madan.²

In the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*,³ 1838, is a note by Amaury Duval on the Douce manuscript regarding its authorship⁴ and the edition of Michel.

R. Heinzel,⁵ in 1869, discusses the source of the two poems on the Folie Tristan, especially the one found in the Berne manuscript.

J. Dunlop,⁶ in 1876, mentions the two versions of *La Folie Tristan*, but adds nothing regarding them.

Fr. Lichtenstein,⁷ in 1877, speaks of the similarity of details in the version of Eilhart and the Douce fragment, and the latter is mentioned in these words⁸: “Das umfangreichere im Mscr. Douce enthaltene Gedicht: Tristan als Narr D., welches nach dem Berner gearbeitet ist (Heinzel 397)”

E. Kölbing,⁹ in 1878, in his grouping of the versions dealing with Tristan, mentions *La Folie Tristan*, but does not discuss it.

F. Vetter,¹⁰ in 1882, discusses the sources of the Douce and Berne versions, and on pages 26 f. gives Heinzel's opinion regarding them.

In volume xv of *Romania*, 1886, appeared a number of articles on Tristan, among which the following are of interest in this study; *Les Folies de Tristan*, W. Lutoslawski;¹¹ *La Folie Tristan du*

¹ See p. — of this dissertation.

² See pp. 6–7 of this dissertation.

³ XIX, pp. 689 f.

⁴ See p. — of this dissertation, in the chapter entitled Author and Source.

⁵ *Gottfrieds von Strassburg Tristan und seine Quelle*. Z. f. d. A., Neue Folge. II, pp. 343–345, 392.

⁶ *The History of Fiction*. London, 1876. 4th edition, p. 443.

⁷ *Eilhart von Oberge*, Q. u. F. XIX, p. cxlix.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. cxxxi.

⁹ *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristan-Saga*. (For full title see the Bibliography). Erster Teil, p. xiii.

¹⁰ *La Légende de Tristan*. Marburg, 1882. Pp. 19, 20 f., 25, 26, 28. See pp. — of this dissertation.

¹¹ Pp. 511–533.

Manuscrit de Berne, H. Morf.¹ Lutoslawski presents a study of the incident, Tristan as Fool, the versions of which he groups as follows: The versions in the Douce and Berne manuscript are from a common source X; the version in manuscript 103 of the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the printed editions of the fifteenth century,² and the one in Eilhart von Oberge are from the source Y; the versions in Heinrich von Freiburg and Ulrich von Türheim are out of the source W; and the three unknown sources W. X. Y. he takes from the original source Z, as shown in his diagram.³

SYNOPSIS.

Tristan is in his own country, and is longing for Ysolt. He decides to go to England in disguise. He carefully keeps his plans from everybody, even from Kaherdin. He sets out in a ship, and, after a voyage of two days, arrives at Tintagel where Mark rules. There follows a short description of Mark's castle which is called in the poem Chastel-Fai, because it disappears twice each year. Tristan lands and asks about Ysolt and Brengien, her maid. He plans to see them, but knows that Mark hates him and would kill him, so he arranges to go to Ysolt disguised as a fool. For this purpose he exchanges his clothes for those of a fisherman, cuts his hair in the form of a cross, disguises his voice, stains his face, takes a stick from a hedge, and goes toward the castle. Every one fears him. When asked where he is from, he replies that he had been to the wedding of an abbot and an abbess. The servants shout at him and call him "fils Urgan le velu." Whenever he is attacked by them on the right hand, he strikes towards the left

¹ Pp. 558-574.

² *Histoire du tres vaillant, noble et excellent chevalier Tristan, fils du roi Meliadus de Leonnois, imprimé à Rouen en l'ostel Jehan le Bourgeois le dernier jour de septembre mil CCC III XX et IX.*

³ *Romania*, xv, p. 533. For a full statement and discussion of his study of the versions of *La Folie Tristan*, and also of Vetter's study, see p. — of this dissertation in the chapter entitled Author and Source of the Douce Version.

with his club, and plays the fool on all occasions. The king orders that the fool be brought before him, and questions him regarding himself. Tristan tells the king that his mother was a whale, and that he was suckled by a tiger. Then he proposes to give his sister to the king in exchange for Ysolt, whom, he says, he will take to a room which he has in the air. This chamber is made of crystal, and is suspended in the clouds. He calls himself Trantris. The king is delighted at the fool's remarks, but Ysolt is made angry by them. The fool makes several allusions to events in the past life of Ysolt and himself, which disconcert Ysolt, and she retires to her room. Before she goes, however, Mark questions the fool as to his accomplishments. He tells the king of his prowess as a hunter, and of his skill as servant and harper. The king goes hunting, and Tristan is left alone in the outer room. Ysolt and Brengien discuss him in the chamber of the former. Ysolt thinks that he is a magician, because he knows so much of her secret past, but Brengien suggests that perhaps it is Tristan himself. Finally he is led into Ysolt's room by Brengien, and there Tristan tries to convince Ysolt that it is he, without, however, dropping his disguise. At last, he asks for Huden, his dog, who is brought in by Brengien. The dog immediately recognizes Tristan, and the latter contrasts the fidelity of a dog with the forgetfulness of a woman. Tristan then resumes his real voice, and is at once recognized by Ysolt, who throws herself into his arms.

Here the poem ends.

TONIC VOWELS.

A.

Free A, as in the Ile-de-France, becomes *e*: *abé* 228, *elez* LAXUS (: *apres*) 772, *pité* (: *pé*) 916, *ostel* 513, 715, (: *bel*) 991, *aguaiter* (: *mester*) 729, *apelez* (: *fiez* FERUS) 129, *frere* 499, 707, *uel* AEQUALIS 716, *mer* 64, 65, 73, 88, 102, 121, 123, 272, 341, 463, etc., *mere* 271, 423, 462, *nef* 66, 67, 72, 139, 344, 463, 585, 769, 817, and other examples. Infinitives of the first conjugation have *e* regularly: *amer* 326, 521, 696, 712, *baiser* 678, *chacer* 490 *donner* 378, *mener* 296, 464, *parler* 157, 175, 353, 594, *aler* 32, 73, 80, 82, 477, 535, 543, 812, 903, *muer* 210, *numer* 153, 368, *plurer* 959, 967, *porter* 204, etc.,—in all fifty verbs. Perfect participles of the first conjugation have *e* regularly: *chascé* 754, *demuré* 226, *delivré* 460, *esté* 473, 798, *acordez* 814, *chascez* 858, *navrez* 536, *trouvez* 876, *envenimés* 334, *navrés* 333, etc.,—in all fifty-one verbs.

A plus I, Latin and Germanic, remain *ai*: *vait* VADIT 302, 668, 678, (: *plait* PLACITUM) 37, (: *lait* LAGAT) 544, 904, *amai* 659, 934, (: *viverai*) 315, *alai* 393, 394, 397, 953, *acordai* 447, *eriai* 448, *demandai* 645, *donai* 894, *envaiai* 757, *eschaufai* 420, *jetai* 787, and all other examples of the first person singular perfect of the first conjugation,—in all twenty verbs. Germanic AI occurs only in *lai* LAID (: *mai* ME) 815, (: *rai* REGEM) 831, *laiz* (: *faitz*) 367, (: *cunterfait*) 575.

A plus U becomes *u* and *o*: *vunt* 56, 87, 88, 251, 263, 537, *unt* 89, 264, *funt* 78, 498; *od* 81.

A plus UI becomes *oi*: *oi* HABUI 352, 644, 645, 798, 871, *soi* (: *poi* PAUCUM) 797.

AU becomes *o* and *u*: *chosce* 993, *or* 952, *povre* 37, 39; *u* AUT 6.

A plus a palatal becomes *ai*, *e*, *a*, *ei*: *destraitz* (: *faiz* VICIS) 8, *esmai* MAGAN (: *sai* SAPIO) 708, *faitz* (: *LAIZ* adj.) 368, *lait* LAGAT (: *vait* VADIT) 543, 903, *cunterfait* (: *laiz* adj.) 576, *faire* 3, 179, 182, 429, 536, 556, 670, 842, (: *aire* AEREM) 922, *plait* 40, (: *vait* VADIT) 38, *repair* (: *air*) 300, *mais* MAGIS 21, *plaie* *PLAGIA 358, *haie* 219, *fait* 48, 549, 551, 560, 578, 706, 886, 952, 961, 992, and many

others; *plest* (: *vest*) 197, (: *forest*) 489, (: *test* TACET) 379, *elez* LAXUS (: *apres*) 772, *feles* 262, *fere* 681, *fet* 195, 247, 299, 313, 372, 483, 488, 528, 593, 705, 895, *mes* MAGIS 273, 369, *mestre* 260, *test* TACET 380; *face* FACIA 883, *fare* 810; *feites* 816. The development *ai*, as shown above, is largely in excess of the three forms *e*, *a*, and *ei*.

Palatal plus A results regularly in *e*: *cher* 760, 764, 871, *chen* (: *ben*) 894, *chevres* 508, *chef* 476, 540, 564, 821, and others.

A before a nasal becomes *ai*, *ei*, *e*: *daims* (: *hauteins*) 508, *main* 630, (: *Brengien*) 609, 631, *aim*, 1. present, 286, 313, *aime*, 3. present, 700, *lendemain* 61, 722, *naim(s)* 725, 739, 878, *bain* 427, 442, *hauteins* (: *daims*) 507, *pleing* (: *desdeing*) 852, *funteine* 701, 785, *pleint* 314, *neims* 793; *sen* SANCTUS 595, *senement* 140.

A before L' occurs in only two verses, and then in rime with one another, as *ai*: *vaile*, 3. present, (: *Cornuaille*) 101.

A before N' is *ai*: *bargaine* 287, *Bretaine* 82, *conpains* 715; *estrange* also occurs, 125, 288, as in the Ile-de-France dialect.

A before P₁ becomes *a*: *sage* (: *curage*) 48.

AU before a palatal becomes *oi*: *joi* 987, *joie* 18, 78, 80, 908, 910, 914, *noise* 542, *poi* 40, 481, 552, 685, (: *soi* SAPUI) 798.

-ABILIS occurs but twice: *delitables* (: *profitables*) 127.

-ARI is found in various developments: -er in *manere* 205, 234, 868, (: *arere*) 680, *rivere* (: *frere*) 500, *destrer* 534, *primer* 723, *chevaler* 403, 537, 580, *porter(s)* 223, 241, *vergez*¹ (: *veisez*) 779, (: *cuchez*) 941; -ier only in *esquier* 533, (: *arocher*) 249, *esquiers* 518; *aire* in *cuntraire* (: *faire*) 555.

-ATHA gives -ee: *espee* 880, (: *osee*) 442. The form *espeie* 430, also occurs as in other Anglo-Norman texts.²

-ATICUM gives -age: *curage* (: *sage*) 47, *damage* 49, *message* 39.

In verbal terminations we find the following developments:

-ABAM gives -oie: *amoie* 352, *delitoie* 351, *dutoie* 803, *pessoie* 874, *savoie* 354.

-ABAT gives -out: *amout* (: *Ysolt*) 115, *gurvirnout* 113, *pensout* 31, *semblout* 837. This termination -out, is found also in verbs from other conjugations, as *aparçout* 259, (cf. *aperceit* 323), *cre-mout* 101.

¹ For loss of *r* see Consonants, p. —.

² See below, p. 20.

-AVI appears as -ai: *acordai* 447, *amai* 659, 934, (: *viverai*) 315, *botai* 419, *demandai* 645, *laissai* 827, *numai* 363, *severai* 417, *alai* 393, 394, 397, 953, *criai* 448, *donai* 894, *jetai* 787, and many others.

-AVIT gives -at, -a, -ad: *envaiat* (: *ad*, 3. present) 391, *alat* 666, 675, *amat* 205, (cf. *amad* 727), *baisat* 976, *cuntat* 665, *jetat* 975, (cf. *jeta* 609), *muat* 973, (cf. *muad* 214, 671), *aportat* 981, (cf. *aporta* 212), *trovat* 276, 277, 603, 750, 752, 877, 880, 943, *donat* 206, *dunat* 200, 767, *cuverat*, from the fourth conjugation, 515; *jeta* 609, (cf. *jetat* 975), *pensa* 945, *porta* 788, *aporta* 212; *amad* 727, (cf. *amat* 205), *muad* 214, 671, (cf. *muat* 973). The ending -ast in *donast* 957 and *esguardast* 958 should be corrected to -at, although *s* is found inserted in this ending and in other verb endings in Anglo-Norman texts.¹

The future singular has the following endings :

The first person has -ai in all examples except *prendra* 491. This isolated form may be a scribal error; but see *a* for *ai* 526, *sa* for *sai* 556, 822, and the references to other texts given below in which *a* stands in place of *ai*.

The second person singular occurs once, *averas* (: *dras*, obl. pl.) 196.

The third person shows two terminations, -at, -a: *averat* 991, *conestrat* 43, *lerat* 990, *purrat* 156, *prat* 157, *frat* (= *j'erirat*) 307, *rendrat* 308, *verrat* 44; *avera* 186, *tendra* 183, 185.

In the imperfect subjunctive of the first conjugation we have -asse and -ast in the first and third persons singular respectively: *guardasse* 636, *laissasse* 823; *aguitast* 811, *celast* 51, *cuntast* 29, *entercast* 217, *escutast* 218, *lessast* 812, *ostast* 30.

The verbal forms given above occur out of rime, or rime only with verbs having the same terminations, except where they are indicated as riming with other forms.

Checked Λ remains regularly: *enelespas* (: *dras*) 751, *dras* 752, (: *averas*) 195, (: *pas*) 201, 838, *braz* 745, 986, *cristal* 306, *bras* 818, 975.

¹See Stimming, *Boeve*, xxix, xxx, 227-228, and citations given by him: Liber Censualis (Hildebrand, 361), Brandan (Hammer, 104), Rois (Schlösser, 72), St. Laurent (Söderhjelm, III), Ste. Catherine (Jarnik, 211), Angier (P. Meyer, 206), Auban (Uhlemann, 604), fourteenth century writers (Busch, 43-44), and others (Stürzinger, 49).

A plus L before a consonant becomes *al*, *au*, *aul*: *alte* 73, *blialt* 643, *salt* 141, 255, 544, 601, 667, *asalt* 101, *val* 788, *valt* 701; *aukes* 516, 687, *chauce* *CALCIA 419, *chaut* 467, *haut* 207, 468, 558, *girfaus* 505, *vaus* 506; *chault* 644.

A before a nasal consonant remains or becomes *ai*, *e*, *ei*, *au*: *avant* 50, 84, 225, (: *sergant*) 262, *banc* 604, *franche* 611, *marchant* 393, 397, *wan* 581, *atant* 749, 887, *grant* 49, *chambre* 305, *change* 287, and many others; *maint* 54, 32, 733, 496; *sen* 595; *einz* ANTEA 455; *gaunt* 882, (cf. *wan* 581). The only other occurrence of *au* before a nasal consonant is in *paumes* 422, in which word *u* takes the place of *s*. Stürzinger¹ and G. Cohn² give examples of this change of *s* to *u*. *Au* does not occur before oral consonants in *La Folie Tristan* in tonic position, but is found in a few words in atonic position.³

Ei and *e*, for *ai*, before a palatal, nasal or other consonant, are found very generally in Anglo-Norman writings. Examples of each development, as well as of *ai*, are to be found in Brandan,⁴ Lois,⁵ Cumpoz,⁶ Bestiaire of Philippe de Thaün,⁷ Charlemagne,⁸ Fr. Angier,⁹ Auban,¹⁰ Oxford Psalter,¹¹ Adam,¹² Cambridge Psalter,¹³ fourteenth century writers,¹⁴ Boeve,¹⁵ Rois,¹⁶ Ste. Catherine,¹⁷ Liber Censualis.¹⁸ *E* is not found however, in the Estorie and St. Laurent in the above list.

The reduction of diphthongs to single vowels was a peculiarity of the Anglo-Norman dialect.¹⁹ Hence, we find *ie* out of a palatal plus A reduced regularly to the simple vowel *e*. As already stated,²⁰ this is the regular development in our poem. For other examples see Chardry, Petit Plet 1241, Josaphaz 739 etc., St. Auban 1641 etc., Alexis,²¹ Gaimar, 693, 651,²² Boeve,²³ and for other citations of the reduction of *ie* to *e* see under -ARIUS²⁴ and *Ē*.²⁵

Ain, *ein*, and *en* out of A before a nasal consonant occur in other Anglo-Norman texts. The proportion of occurrences differs in

¹ *Orthographia Gallica*, p. 50.

² *Z.R.P.*, XIX, pp. 51-60.

³ See Atonic Vowels, p. —.

⁴ Hammer, pp. 91-92.

⁵ Matzke, p. XLIV.

⁶ G. Paris, *Alexis*, p. 80.

⁷ Walberg, p. LXXXV.

⁸ Koschwitz, *Ueberlieferung*, p. 37.

⁹ P. Meyer, pp. 193-194.

¹⁰ Uhlemann, p. 580.

¹¹ Harseim, p. 277.

¹² Grass, p. 123.

¹³ Schumann, pp. 19-21.

¹⁴ Busch, pp. 27-28.

¹⁵ Stimming, pp. 194-195.

¹⁶ Schlösser, pp. 13, 14, 18.

¹⁷ Jarnik, p. 161.

¹⁸ Hildebrand, p. 358.

¹⁹ See *Ē*, p. 26.

²⁰ P. 16.

²¹ G. Paris, *Alexis*, p. 80.

²² Vising, p. 85.

²³ Stimming, p. IX.

²⁴ Pp. 16, 20. ²⁵ Pp. 24-26.

different texts. *Ain* and *ein* are found in the Bestiaire of Philippe,¹ Brandan,² Tristan,³ Rois,⁴ Oxford Psalter,⁵ Cambridge Psalter,⁶ Fantosme,⁷ Auban,⁸ Montauban Psalter,⁹ Lois,¹⁰ fourteenth century writers,¹¹ Adam,¹² Boeve,¹³ Fr. Angier,¹⁴ St. Laurent,¹⁵ Ste. Catherine.¹⁶

En occurs in Boeve,¹⁷ Brandan,¹⁸ fourteenth century writers.¹⁹

In La Folie Tristan *aun* occurs only in checked position, and but once, as shown above.²⁰ *Au* before a nasal consonant is common in Anglo-Norman in both free and checked position. See Bestiaire of Philippe,²¹ Ipomedon,²² Boeve,²³ Auban,²⁴ Chardry.²⁵ Schwan-Behrens²⁶ date this development since the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Busch²⁷ gives examples of its occurrence in the fourteenth century. On page 13 Busch says: "Es scheint demnach *aun* plus Cons. für *an* plus Cons., das nach Stürzinger l. c. xxxix sich in datirten Texten frühestens aus einer Urkunde vom Jahre 1266 nachweisen lässt, gegen Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts mehr und mehr ausser Gebrauch gekommen zu sein. Zu älteren literarischen Texten vgl. Koch: Chardry, Altfranz. Bibl. I pag. xxx; Rolfs: Adgarlegenden, Rom. Forsch. I pag. 206; Uhlemann: Vie de Seint Auban, Rom. Stud. IV pag. 543." The Cumpoz has not *au* for *a*.²⁸

An out of *A* plus a nasal consonant in checked position calls for no comment. It is found throughout Anglo-Norman by the side of the other development, *aun*.

An in free position is not found in La Folie Tristan. Philippe de Thaün has this result.²⁹

La Folie Tristan has not *en* for *an* in free position. However, one example of *en* for *an* in checked position occurs: *sen* SANCTUS. Boeve³⁰ has *sen* and *sante*. *En* occurs also in Adam,³¹ Tristan,³² Estorie des Engleis,³³ Angier,³³ Boeve.³³

¹ Walberg, p. LXXV.

⁴ Schlösser, pp. 11, 13.

⁷ Vising, p. 93.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *ei* only three times.

¹³ Stimming, p. 196.

¹⁶ Jarnik, pp. 141, 143, 161.

¹⁹ Busch, p. 28.

²² Stimming, p. 174.

²⁵ Koch, p. xxx.

²⁸ Mall, p. 65.

³¹ Grass, p. 112.

² Hammer, p. 97.

⁵ Harseim, pp. 277-278.

⁸ Uhlemann, p. 580.

¹¹ Busch, p. 28.

¹⁴ P. Meyer, p. 193.

¹⁷ Stimming, p. 197.

²⁰ P. 18.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Gram.* § 252, 3 Anm.

²⁹ Walberg, p. xli.

³² Röttiger, p. 31.

³ Röttiger, pp. 32, 56.

⁶ Schumann, p. 17.

⁹ Matzke, p. XLII.

¹² Grass, p. 123.

¹⁵ Söderhjelm, p. II.

¹⁸ Hammer, p. 97.

²¹ Walberg, p. VI.

²⁴ Uhlemann, p. 559.

²⁷ Pp. 12-13.

³⁰ Stimming, p. 197.

³³ Stimming, p. 174.

-*Er*, for -*ier* out of -*ARIUS*, -*ERIUS*, is an Anglo-Norman trait which appears as early as 1086 in the *Liber Censualis*.¹ This development is to be expected on account of the very general reduction of diphthongs in Anglo-Norman.² For examples of -*er*, see Auban 686, Chardry : Josaphaz, 287, Lois,³ Gaimar.⁴ Boeve has -*er* generally, but -*ier* occurs occasionally.⁵ Brandan has -*ier*.⁶

-*Air* is found commonly in certain words, as in *Fantosme*, *cuntraire* 24, 1269,⁷ Philippe de Thaün : *Bestiaire* 3, 1773 etc.⁸

Ei for *e*, as in *espeie*, is found in other texts : Brandan,⁹ Tristan,¹⁰ Charlemagne,¹¹ Boeve,¹¹ *Estorie des Engleis*,¹¹ *Ipomedon*,¹¹ *Oxford Psalter*,¹² *Cambridge Psalter*,¹³ *Longtoft*,¹⁴ *Wadington*,¹⁴ *Montauban Psalter*.¹⁵

E.

This vowel shows five developments in free position : *ei*, *ai*, *oi*, *e*, *ee*. The first form, *ei*, is by far the most frequent, occurring over twice as many times as all the other forms combined. The others occur numerically in the order given above : *esteit* 97, 99, 107, 109, 110, 145, 601, 607, 766, 846, 868, 928, (: *devait*) 69, *sei* SITIM (: *rai* REGEM) 469, *veir* VIDERE 133, *mei* 179, 369, 629, 956, *crei* 52, 724, 955, *quei* 466, 549, 556, 822, (: *tei*) 613, *perdeit* (: *droit*) 132, *aveit* 98, 146, 189, 203, 215, 446, 654, 879 (: *dait*) 776, *tenei* 821, *avei* 347, 396, 643, *deveie* 346, 449, *aparceit* 323, *cremeit* 29, *curreit* 786, *feseit* 116, *plaiseit* 784, *soleit* 204, *quereient* 124, *veneient* 123, and other imperfects, *purreie* 695, *vendreie* 791, *fereis* 297, *ocireit* 164, *murreit* 24, *vendreit* 178, *deis* DISCUS 374, *creit* 845, *saveir* 600, *sei* SE 527, *tei* 370, 411, 614, *vei* VIA 373, *voleir* 687, *proeisse* 159, *espeir* (: *veir*, adv.) 620, and others ; *bairre* 459, 645, 650, 654, 655, *chair* 827, (: *vair*, adv.) 823, *vait* VIDET 188, 193, 222, 607, 845, (: *droit*) 967, *fai* FIDEM 384, 658, 896. *mai* 172, 262, 612, 698, 895, (: *lai* LAID) 816, *sai* SE 155, *sai* SITIM 645, 654, *vail* VELUM 86, *dait* 327, 361, 415, 632, 761, 893,

¹ Hildebrand, pp. 358 f.

² See Ė, p. 26.

³ Matzke, p. XLIV.

⁴ Vising, p. 85.

⁵ Stimming, pp. IX, 201.

⁶ Birkenhoff, p. 59.

⁷ Vising, p. 93.

⁸ Walberg, p. LXXXV.

⁹ Hammer, p. 90.

¹⁰ Röttiger, p. 34.

¹¹ Stimming, p. 175.

¹² Harseim, p. 277 ; Meister, p. 74.

¹³ Schumann, p. 15.

¹⁴ Busch, pp. 15, 17.

¹⁵ Suchier, *Gram*, § 17 d, p. 24 considers *ei* for *e* in forms like *ses* SAPIs, *set* SAPIT, *seis* seit, as only graphic forms.

(: *aveit*) 775, *dai* 167, 239, *vai* VIDEO 261, 853, *devait* (: *estait*) 70, *fesait* 96, 322, 467, *avail* (: *droit*) 967, *meraies* (: *ferais*) 298, *serrait* 36, 843, *serait* 553; *moi* 377, 800, *moy* 291, *soi* 3, *droit* 64, 91, 94, (: *vait* VIDET) 968, (: *voleit*) 32, (: *perdeit*) 131, *estoit* 345, *serroit* 579, *savoie* 354; *mes* MENSEM 555, and in the infinitives of three verbs, *saver* 46, 160, 178, 741, *aver* 296, 330, 640, 916, *valer* 159. It is doubtful whether this *e* should be considered as a phonetic development of Latin *Ē*.¹ The double vowel *ee* appears in *veer* 156, (cf. *peez* 744.)

Ē before a palatal consonant has the same development as *Ē* in the preceding section, *ei*, *ai*, *oi*, *e*: *desdeing* (: *pleing*) 851, *deing* 696, *desdein* 693, *dreit* 433, 602, 973, (: *vait* VIDET) 221, *enseignes* 955, *rei(s)* 113, 123, 285, 299, 309, 399, 528, 714, 794 (twenty-eight times), *endreit* (: *sait estre*) 586; *rai(s)* 98, 144, 240, 259, 266, 283, 464, 470, 478, 776 (fifteen times), *faiz* VICEM 9, 132, 134, 757, (: *destrai(z)*) 7, 731, *esplait* 87; *droit* 64, 91, 94, (: *voleit*) 32, (: *perdeit*) 121, (: *vait* VIDET) 968, *roi(s)* 95, 161, 799; *enseignes* 955, *regne* 812.

Ē after a palatal becomes *i*: *merci* (: *sivi*) 668, (: *vi*) 805, (: *averti*) 947, (: *pri*, 1. present) 612, (: *guari*) 358. *paiz* 34, 135, 345, 349, 401 (: *ocis*) 395, 416, (: *pensifs*) 1, (: *vis*, sing. obl.) 212, (: *pris*, sing. obl.) 579.

Ē before a nasal becomes *ei* and *ai*: *ceine* CENAT 193, *sereine* 272, *peine* 10, 13; *maine* MINAT 194.

Ē plus *i* becomes *ai*, *ei*: *raine* 116, 147, 151, 295, 325, 348, 357, 361, 383 (twenty-four times); *reine* 19, 96, 849, 875, 939. The form *renne* 525 is noticeable, and is probably a scribal error which should be corrected to one of the other two forms, or it may be a phonetic representation of the pronunciation *ē*. The forms having *ai* and *ei* are the only ones occurring; if in rime, they rime only with tonic *i*.

Ē plus *L'* becomes *eil* and *ail*: *cunseil* 50, 53, 187, 566, 568, *soleil* 885, *vermeil* 886, *merveille* 917, *merveil* 565; *solail* 302, 307, *vermaille* (: *merveille*) 918.

Ē plus *N'* becomes *ein*: *desdeing* (: *plaing*) 851, *deing* 696, *desdein* 693.

¹ See p. 23.

-ÏTIAM becomes *-ise* and *-isse*: *cuintise* 160, 181, 734, *feintise* 852, 936, *franchise*, 935, *veidise* 733; *cointisse* 398.

Checked $\bar{E}$ becomes *e*; *best*[*e*] 914, *mamele* (: *bel*[*e*]) 279, *senestre* 256, in verbal ending -ËTIS, *acordissez* 809, *puussez* 810, *avez* 226, 530, 694, 760, 895, 956, *poez* 599, *volez* 281, 614, *savez* 174, 447, 592, 646, 875.

Checked $\bar{E}$ before a nasal appears as *e*, *ei*, *ai*, *a*: *enz* 85, 245, *enchantement* 570, *femme* 444, 936, *durement* 402, *ensement* 14, (: *sanglant*) 747, *estreitement* 58, *granment* 441, *malement* 333, *sene-ment* 140, *sifaientment* 413, *verrement* 623, *bonement* 497, *cuintement* 57, *cument* 175, *sen* 180, *sens* 182, *suvent* 49, 780, (: *tanlent*) 253, *turment* 343, *prendre* 163, 450, 500, *cenz* (: *genz*) 376, (: *menz*) 319, 386, *enz* 245, (: *venz*) 85, *denz* 650, *dedenz* 258, 419 (: *genz*) 827; *lange* LINGUAM 418.

Examples of *ei* out of $\bar{E}$ are found in Brandan,¹ Chardry,² Liber Censualis,³ Boeve,⁴ Lois,⁵ Cumpoz, *mei* 12, *tei* 17, etc.

Ai for *ei* is a Norman trait according to Suchier.⁶ In another place⁷ he says: "Bei den Anglonormannen ist *ei* besonders vor *s*, *r*, *d*, *t*, (in den Endungen *eis*, *eise*, *eire*, *eide*, *eit*, *eite*) zu *ai* (ϕ ξ) geworden, bevor *ai* zu ξ kontrahiert wurde, und nahm daher auch an dieser kontraction teil." Again on the same page he says: "Die Vermischung des *ai* mit *ei* ist auf dem Festlande auch G Clere noch unbekannt. Bei Guarnier steht *balai* 2840 in einer Laisse auf *ei*, offenbar durch agn. Einfluss." *Ai* is found in Brandan,⁸ Adam,⁹ Auban,¹⁰ Charlemagne,¹¹ Boeve,¹² Estorie des Engleis,¹³ Oxford Psalter,¹⁴ Cambridge Psalter,¹⁵ fourteenth century writers,¹⁶ Bestiaire of Philippe,¹⁷ Rois,¹⁸ Ste. Catherine.¹⁹

Oi is found in Chardry: Josaphaz, 2847 *foiz* VICEM (: *croiz*), Cumpoz,²⁰ Brandan,²¹ Boeve,²² Vie d'Édouard le Conquérant.²³ Suchier and Stimming consider this *oi* out of $\bar{E}$ as a form introduced from

¹ Birkenhoff, p. 59.

⁴ Stimming, pp. 197 f.

⁷ Gram. § 30 b, p. 49.

¹⁰ Uhlemann, p. 580.

¹² Stimming, pp. 198 f.

¹⁵ Schumann, p. 28.

¹⁸ Schlösser, pp. 29 f.

²¹ Hammer, p. 92.

² Koch, p. xxvii.

⁵ Matzke, p. xlvi.

⁸ Hammer, p. 92.

¹¹ Koschwitz, *Ueberlieferung*, p. 37.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁶ Busch, p. 30.

¹⁹ Jarnik, pp. 145, 150.

²² Stimming, pp. viii, 198.

³ Hildebrand, p. 358.

⁶ *Reimpredigt*, p. xviii.

⁹ Grass, p. 123.

¹⁴ Harseim, p. 283.

¹⁷ Walberg, p. lxxxiv.

²⁰ Mall, p. 60.

²³ Vising, p. 14.

the continent. Suchier¹ says: "Bei Anglonormannen ist *oi* für *ei* wohl festländischer Import. Von den Dichtern Englands ist wohl Chardri der erste, der dieses *oi* kennt (und zwar nur in dem Ausgang -*oie* für -*eie*, das : *oie* reimt, und einmal *joiz* VĪCEM : *croiz* S. 72). Stimming² says: "Sehr bald wurden aber vom Festlande aus Formen mit *oi* eingeführt. Sie finden sich zuerst in einigen Handschriften des Computus, doch nie im Reim (Mall S. 60), auch im Brandan (Hammer, S. 92), später in den verschiedenen Texten bald häufiger, bald seltener."

E for *ei* is an Anglo-Norman trait according to Suchier³ and Mall;⁴ but compare Schwan-Behrens:⁵ "In der normannischen und in anderen westfranzösischen Mundarten hat *ēi* nicht *ōi*, sondern *ēi* ergeben. Eine genaue Abgrenzung dieses westfranzösischen *ei*-Gebietes fehlt zur Zeit noch." In the Lois *ē* becomes *e* only in *aver*, *saver*, but *ei* is the more common development. This reduction of *ei* to *e* is not found in Cumpoz, nor in the Montauban Psalter, except in *aver*. Rois has *ei* most frequently, but *e* occurs also in infinitives. *E* occurs in Alexis,⁶ Brandan,⁷ Chardry: Josaphaz, 301, 1072, Set Dormanz 1213, Petit Plet 987, Boeve,⁸ Roland,⁸ Estorie des Engleis,⁸ Liber Censualis.⁹

The infinitive ending -*ERE* becomes -*er*, -*eir*, -*air*, -*eer*, which are Anglo-Norman traits. I have given above¹⁰ *saver* (: *veir* VERACEM) 741. In verse 823 is *chair* (: *vair* VERACEM), in 133 *veir* (: *enveir*), and in 687 *voleir* (: *veir*). These cannot establish the endings -*eir* and -*air*, as they are unsupported forms. Note, also, the rime *valer* (: *saver*) 159. Compare Cumpoz, *aveir* 2355, *seeir* 3510, *valeir* 3476, *veeir* 2655, *saveir* 265. In the case where -*ERE* has become -*er*, the reason must be ascribed to a change of conjugation, as Suchier says:¹¹ "Wenn im Agn. die Infinitivendung -*eir* zu *er* wird, so liegt vielleicht eher eine Formübertragung, als ein Lautwandel vor, daher dies beim Verbum zur Sprache kommen soll." G. Paris says,¹² in explanation of this form: "*Aver* (20 a) pour *aveir* est une faute fréquente dans les textes écrits en Angleterre." See also Cohn:¹³ "... dessen

¹ Gram. § 30 c, p. 50.⁴ P. 38.⁷ Birkenhoff, p. 59.¹⁰ P. 21.¹³ Z. f. S. L., 1902, p. 47.² P. 197.⁵ Gram. 225 Anm.⁸ Stimming, p. 198.¹¹ Gram. 30 b.³ Reimpredigt, p. xvii.⁶ G. Paris, Alexis, p. 51.⁹ Hildebrand, p. 358.¹² Alexis, p. 74.

heimatliche Mundart die anglo-normannische in der Flektierung von Verben anderer Konjugationsklassen als der ersten nach dem Muster dieser letzteren besonders weit ging." Cohn gives many examples of verbs which have gone over to the first conjugation from other conjugations. See also Meyer-Lübke :¹ "De bonne heure déjà, les inf. en *-eir* y [in Anglo-Norman] ont été supplantés par d'autres en *-er*. . . . On relève des exemples plus nombreux encore de cette substitution aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, époque où des inf. en *-re* et en *-ir* passent aussi dans I. . . . en somme, la langue manifeste une tendance marquée à ramener tous les verbes à une seule classe." Stimming² also agrees that a change of conjugation, and not a phonetic form, is here involved. For a few examples of this change of other conjugations to the first, see Boeve,³ Auban,⁴ St. Grégoire,⁴ Deu le omnipotent.⁴ This change is not found in the Bestiaire of Philippe.⁴

Ail out of *Ē* plus *L'* is found in the Bestiaire of Philippe,⁵ Gaimar.⁶

Ē

Free *Ē* becomes *e*, *ie*, *ee*: *pere* PETRA 867, *pé* 37, (: *aterré*) 33, (: *pité*) 915, *arere* 513, 747, (: *praiere*) 807, (: *manere*) 679, *levre* LEPOREM 511, *levres* 491, *pez* 647, 901, 904, *bevre* BEBRUM 512, *gref* 550; *fiez* FERUS (: *apelez*) 130; *peez* 744. It is possible that *fiez* 130 should be read *feez*. *ĒBRIUS* appears as *ivre* (: *delivre*) 459.

AE becomes *e*: *cel* 522, 836.

E before a palatal becomes *i*: *delit* (: *dît*) 978, *ni*, 1. present, (: *cumbati*) 332, *pri*, 1. present, (: *merci*) 611, *pris* PRETIUM (: *mis*, past participle) 219, (: *pais*) 580, *lit* 60, 547, 744, 746, 748, 750, 992, *liz* 740, *mi* MEDIUS 302, *respit* 59, *cingnes* 493.

Ē plus a nasal consonant becomes *en*, *ien*: *ben* 74, 83, 106, 111, 157, 161, 164, 167, 170, 178 (twenty-five times), *chen* 894, *ven*, 2. imperative, 382, 905, *men* 516, 620, 748, 751, 906, *suvent*, 3. present, (: *tient*) 698, *vent*, 3. present, 33, 65, 85, 545, 547, *avent*, 3. present, 49, *venent* 93, *tent* 988; *tient* 187, 931, (: *suvent*, 3. present) 697, *vient* 188, *suvient* 932. Except in the example

¹ Gram., I, pp. 157-158.

² Boeve, p. 198.

³ Stimming, p. xxviii.

⁴ Walberg, p. lxxvi.

⁵ Walburg, p. L.

⁶ Visings, p. 85.

shown above, *ben* (: *chen*) 894, Ě plus a nasal rimes only with itself. In *tient* (: *suvient*) 697 the *ie* is due, doubtless, to the scribe, and should be corrected, as should also *tient* 187, 931, *vient* 188, *suvient* 932.

Ě before *L'* becomes *e*: *merur* 910. This is the only occurrence of this combination in this poem.

Ě plus *ŋ'* appears as *in* and *ain*: *engin* 101, 158, 734, 779, (: *venim*) 425, (: *escrin*) 435, *sire* 539; *engain* (: *Tristan*) 843.

Ě plus *R'* becomes *er*: *mester* 66, 484, 591, 929, (: *aguaiter*) 730.

Ě plus *U* remains in *deu* 76, 77, 294, 411, 583, 611, 954, *deus* 805, 829, 947.

Checked Ě remains as *e*: *vest* (: *plest* PLACET) 198, *forest* 861, (: *plest*) 490, *apres* 209, (: *truis*) 501, (: *elez* LAXUS) 771, *anel* 951, 956, 957, 964, *cuttel* 523, *chastel* 99, 109, 115, 122, 130, 131, 221, *cert* 17, *destre* 255, 630, *Engleterre* 32, 70, 78, 91, *herbe* 983, *mantel* 476, 479, *nuveles* 143, *serf* 603, *terre(s)* 124, 825, *teste* 417, 438, 913, *vers* VERSUS 25, *clerc* 232, *bel* 100, 106, 237, 862, 952, 992, *bels* 488, 578, *bele* 67, 110, 148, 280, 301, 551, 598, 632, 655, 657, 755 (eighteen times), *beles* 120.

AE becomes *e*: *prest* PRAESTUM 65.

Ě plus *L* before a consonant becomes *el*, *eu*, *au*: *bels* 488, 578, *cospels* 523, 782, 787, *melz* 6, 7, 9, 553, 636, *oisels* 487; *beus* 127, 366, 467, (cf. *beu* 499 used in a vocative construction); *baus* 992. This last form, *baus*, may, and, probably, should be read *bons*.

Ě plus a nasal becomes *en* and *an*: *gent* 25, 55, 138, 322, *genz* 124, 375, 828, *argent* 649, *defendre* 449, *parent* 45, *ren* 162, 177, 312, 762, 840, *sempres* 355, 443, *serment* 830, 831, *serpent* 414, *tens* 10, 181, 473, *vent* 89, 304, *venz* 74, 86, 343, *entent* 317, 321, 412, 475, 665, 829, 833, 839, 937; *sanglant* 748, 750, 752, *sergant* (: *avant*) 261, *tans* TEMPUS 642, *entant* 293, (cf. *entent*, just cited).

E out of Ě before an oral consonant appears in Chardry: *Josaphaz cel* (: *el*) 202, (: *mortel*) 2008, *arere* (: *manere*) 783, *pé* (: *delivré*) 1457, Gaimar,¹ Reimpredigt,² Cumpoz,³ Fantosme,⁴ Boeve,⁵ Liber Censualis,⁶ Adam.⁷ *Ie* is found in Brandan,⁸ Boeve.⁹

¹ Vising, pp. 81, 85.

² Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xvi.

³ Suchier, *Gram.*, § 28 e; Mall, pp. 72, 74.

⁴ Vising, p. 7.

⁵ Stimming, p. 201.

⁶ Hildebrand, pp. 358-359; Suchier, *Gram.*, § 29 e.

⁷ Stimming, p. 201.

⁸ Birkenkoff, p. 59.

⁹ Stimming, p. 201.

While *ie* is occasionally found in Anglo-Norman texts, *e* is almost generally met with, and is recognized as a characteristic of the Anglo-Norman dialect. "Von jeher hat man die Vertauschung von franz. *ie* mit *e* als charakteristisches Merkmal des agn. Dialektes angesehen."¹ "Das Anglonormannische hat eine Abneigung gegen Diphthonge und hat dieselben daher oft zu einfachen Vokalen verengt."² "La diphthongue *ie* n'existait plus de son [Fantosme] temps en anglo-normand; elle était devenue *ié* ou même *e* et rimait avec *e*; e'est là, comme on va le voir, un phénomène des plus ordinaires en anglo-normand et à l'égard duquel ce dialecte a devancé ceux du continent."³

DEUS, DEUM give only the forms *deus*, *deu* in *La Folie Tristan*. The forms *dieu*, *dé* in Boeve,⁴ *dé*, *diex* in the Bestiaire of Philippe,⁵ *dés* in Gaimar,⁶ Cumpoz,⁶ etc., do not occur in this poem.

Ee for *ie* occurs in Charlemagne,⁷ Cumpoz,⁸ Estorie des Engleis,⁹ Ipomedon,⁹ Langtoft,¹⁰ Boeve.¹¹

En out of *ĕ* plus a nasal consonant is a trait which occurs constantly in Anglo-Norman.¹² In contrast to this development, *ien* is found occasionally, just as *ie* is found beside of *e* before an oral consonant, as just stated. Cumpoz has *rien* 19, 299, *bien* 20, 300, *tient* 267, 1429, *vient* 266. These rime only with each other. In Boeve,¹² *en* occurs generally, but *ien* is not infrequent; but the latter is much more frequent than *ie* out of *ĕ* before an oral consonant.

-ERIUM generally gives *-er* in other Anglo-Norman texts, as in our poem. However, *-ier* is not absent from Anglo-Norman texts. *-Er* is found in Auban, *mester* (: *aler*) 114, (: *celer*) 211, Chardry : Josaphaz, *mester* (: *aver*) 301, Boeve.¹³ Cumpoz has *-ier*.¹⁴

In *La Folie Tristan* there is no example of *eal* or *eau* out of *ĕ* plus *L* before a consonant. The same condition exists in the Bestiaire of Philippe¹⁵ and in the Cumpoz.¹⁶ *Eal* is found in manuscripts of the Montauban Psalter and later.¹⁷ The reduction to

¹ Stimming, p. 201.² Stimming, p. 193.³ Vising, p. 7.⁴ Stimming, pp. x, 203.⁵ Walberg, p. XLIV.⁶ Suchier, *Gram.*, § 22 b.⁷ Koschwitz, *Ueberlieferung*, pp. 43-44.⁸ Mall, p. 69.⁹ Stimming, p. 202.¹⁰ Busch, p. 33.¹¹ Stimming, p. 202.¹² Stimming, p. 203.¹³ Stimming, p. IX.¹⁴ Fenge, p. 10.¹⁵ Walberg, p. XLIII.¹⁶ Mall, p. 65.¹⁷ Matzke, p. XLVI.

als is found early in Anglo-Norman texts: Bestiaire of Philippe, Cambridge Psalter, Rois.¹ The glide *a* is found in Boeve,² Fantosme,³ and, according to Stimming,⁴ " . . . die Einfügung des Gleitlautes *a* im Agn. sonst das durchaus gebräuchliche ist, vgl. Koschwitz S. 48, Harseim S. 282, Schlösser S. 21, Vising S. 91, Rolfs S. 217-218 u. a."

Au, out of ð plus L before a consonant, occurs three times in the Lois.⁵

I.

Free and checked *ī* remain: *cumbati* (: *nī*, 1. present) 331, *siivi* (: *merci*) 667, *averti* (: *merci*) 948, *guari* (: *merci*) 357, *rive* 142, *chaitive* 546, *filie* 470, *fin* 27, *guisse* 264, *i* 80, *ire* 318, 444, *naif* 409, *fis* 242, *tristes* 2, *guarir* 5, 15, 339, *cuverir* 971, *descuverir* 53, *languir* 10, 342, *murir* 6, 7, 9, 16, 20, 167, etc., *oir* 483, 972, *partir* 949, and other infinitives of the fourth conjugation, *cheriz* 401, *hai* 395, *saisi* 201, *servi* 486, 526, *sailli* 747, *averti* 743, 948, *ofri* 653, *sailli* 744, *nurri* 274, 279, 930, 933.

ī before a palatal remains: *ami* 582, 962, (: *li* tonic) 45, 987, *amie* 156, 165, 383, 481, 564, etc., *envie* 946, *gupil* 509, *orine* 739, 850, *tigre* 275, *mie* 59, 370, 597, 709.

ī before a nasal consonant remains as *i* or, in one case, becomes *ai*: *divins* 562, *fin* 27, *meschine* 148, 362, 425, 690, *matin* 61, 307, *venim* 336, 420, 426, *chemin* 62, 422, *farine* 740, *divins* 562; *maine* MIN 590, 928. In *venim* it is necessary to suppose a change of tonic vowel.⁶

I is inserted in *mai*⁷ (*mai bele amie*) 598, by the side of *ma* 271, 554, 564, 755, and in the verbal forms *doinse* 295, *cunuit* 608, 907, *mescunuit* 848, *aperceuit* 847, by the side of *aperceut* 793.

I is omitted in *jeu*, 1. perfect of *gésir*, 422, *aperceu*, 1. singular, 799, *fu*, 1. singular, 333, 350, 355, 402, 644, 754, 770, *lu* (= *lui*) 4, 5, 43, 145, 159, 184, 188, 193, 206, 314, 668, 678, 923, by the side of *lui* 16, 246, 263, 480, 537, 913, and *li* 29, 46, 83, 200,

¹ Matzke, p. XLVI.

³ Vising, p. 91.

⁵ Matzke, p. XLVI.

⁷ No other possessive has this *i*: *ta* 383, *sa* 148.

² Stimming, pp. 174, 211.

⁴ P. 174.

⁶ Schwan-Behrens, *Gram.* 11, 3b.

225, 241, 254, 379, 489 (twenty-four times),¹ *cunuistre* 628, by the side of *cunuistre* 972.

The insertion of *i* in verbal forms and elsewhere is not unknown to other Anglo-Norman texts: Bestiaire of Philippe,² *euis* 60, *ouit* 66, *vouit* 102, 154, *fouis* 81, 86, *menaist* 187, *tuz joris* 22, etc., Boeve,³ *panis* 2723, *gaguis* 2820, *matinis* 3048, *cheinis* (*chiens*) 1617, *pelerinis* 2776. Stimming⁴ says in regard to *ui* for *u* in verbal forms: "Die Wiedergabe unseres Lautes durch *ui* ist als 'umgekehrte Schreibung' aufzufassen, die also eintrat, nachdem *ui* im Agn. zu *u* geworden war. Sie begegnet mehrfach in agn. und me. Texten, so im Brandan (Hammer S. 93), Tristan (Röttiger S. 40), Adgar (Rolfs S. 213), besonders im 14. Jahrh. (Busch S. 26), Behrens, Zur Lautl. S. 119 Anm." This abbreviation occurs also in continental texts. Stimming⁵ gives a list of such texts. Constans⁶ explains this as follows: "*Reçui* = RECI(P)UI. Forme normale; mais *aperceuit* 15 (= AD-PERCI(P)UIT) et *mescunuit* 16 (= MINUSCOGNOUIT), pour *aperçent*, *mesconut*, montrent l'intention de représenter le son de l'*u* français, qui était différent de celui de l'*u* anglo-normand provenant de *ō*, *ŭ* latins."

The omission of *i* (= *u* for *ui* and *oi*) is found in Anglo-Norman texts in verbs and in other words: Bestiaire of Philippe⁷ has *muement* 492, *busson* (in atonic syllable) 792, Boeve⁸ has *conu*, 1. singular, 1545, *su* *suum* 167, 278, 283, *fu* *fui* 263, 386, *pus* *postea* 29, 98, etc., and others, Charlemagne,⁹ Rois,¹⁰ Cambridge Psalter,¹¹ Tristan,²¹ Auban,¹³ and fourteenth century writers.¹⁴

O.

Free *ō* becomes *u*, *o*, *ou*, *eu*, *e*, and *uu*: *amur* 18, 22, 167, 173, 286, 292, 618, 640, 706, 742, 856, 912, *baldur* 768, *chalur* 469, *culur* 214, 324, 671, 937, *dolur* 11, 13, 338, (cf. *doleure* 789), *irrirur*

¹ The pronominal forms *lu*, *lui*, and *li*, just given, are used in tonic and atonic position, with or without a preposition.

² Walberg, pp. vi, vii. ³ Stimming, pp. xv, 190, 192, 193, 209, 210, 237 ff.

⁴ P. 193.

⁵ P. 193.

⁶ *Chresthomathie*, p. 137, note 121.

⁷ Walberg, p. lxxxviii.

⁸ Stimming, pp. 205, 209.

⁹ Koschwitz, *Uebertieferung*, p. 39.

¹⁰ Schlösser, p. 53.

¹¹ Harseim, p. 303.

¹² Röttiger, p. 40.

¹³ Suchier, *Auban*, p. 50.

¹⁴ Busch, p. 36.

323, *lieur* 213, 983, *lu* LUPUM 247, *lus* LUPUS 504, *lur* 71, 76, 90, 253, 375, 606, *jus* DEOSUM 478, *osturs* 503, (cf. *osteur* 873), *peschur* 188, (cf. *peschers* 199), *plusurs* 69, 263, *pruz* 75, *sennur* 400, 911, *sennurs* 76, 81, *sorur* 285; *ore* AD HORAM 17, 261, 297, 369, *butors* 496; *dous* DUOS 92, 112, 132, 134, *hour* 331, (cf. *ure* 559, 584, 703); *doleure* (: *dreiture*) 789, (a change of suffix should doubtless be considered here), *osteur* 873, (cf. *osturs* 503), *harpeur* 765, (: *baldur*) 767; *peschers* 199, (cf. *peschur* 188); *suur* SUDOREM 984.

—*Ō* appears only as *-us*: *amergus* 710, *hidus* 367, 576, *curajus* 404, *anguissus* 176, *anguisus* 777.

Ō before a palatal becomes *oi* and *o*: *croiz* 209, 558, *voiz* 210, 920, 973, *poing* 651, (: *loins*) 882, *poinz* 960; *croces* 236.

Ō before a nasal consonant becomes *u* and *ou*; *bricun* 185, 224, *caperun* 192, *cumpaingnun* 28, *garsuns* 518, *tisuns* 517, *perun* 277, *Rume* (: *home*) 406, *cum* 68, 98, *cume* 272, 626, *cument* 175, 624, *suspeziun* 889; *foun* FETONEM 278.

Checked *ō* becomes *u* and *o*: *us* OSTIUM 257, 374, 686, *jur* 92, 93, 168, 467, 728, 855, 874, *curre* 70, *curt*, 1. present, 702, 913, *curt* COHORTEM 40, 97, 146, 251, 355, 754, 763, 832, 858, *furme* 985, *mult* 35, *pur* PRO 22, *suz* 237, 277, *tut(e)* 8, 10, 14, 25, 105, 473, 502, 555, 570, 848, 900, 984, *tuz* 76, 236, 605, 664, 828, 923, 924, *ultre* ULTRA 800, *surt* 701, 704, *urs* 504; *mot* 371, 531, 572, 797, 834, 884, *sot* 372, *asoti* 183.

Ō before a nasal consonant becomes *u*, *o*: *nun* NON 6, (: *hum*) 365, *mund* MUNDUM, (: *respunt*) 284, (: *sunt*) 663, *monde* 215, *dunc* 17, 84, *dunt* 268, 270, 702, *encumbre* 237, *muns* 506, *nun* 6, 365, *profunde* 88, *parfunde* 588, *umbre* 238, 781, 799, 806, *unde* 87, 587, *unc* 914, *unke* 63, *unques* 571, 572, 656; *nom* NON 136.

Ō plus *L* before a consonant becomes *u* and *ul*: *duces* 119, *dulce* 564.

O and *u* out of *ō* are found in Anglo-Norman texts, but *u* is more frequent than *o*. *Ou* also occurs, but it is not found in *La Folie Tristan*. Stimming¹ has given the situation very fully, and I cannot do better than quote his statement. “Das franz. *o* erhielt im Agn. bekanntlich den Lautwert *u* und wird daher in den meis-

¹ P. 190.

ten agn. Handschriften auch vorwiegend durch *u* wiedergegeben. So fast immer in der des Oxforder Rolandsliedes, des Brandan, des Cambridger Psalters, der Rois, der Estoire des Engleis, des Auban, der ältesten Handschrift des Chardri und meist auch in Ste. Catherine. Dagegen wechselt *u* mit *o* in einigen Handschriften des Computus, in St. Laurent, im Tristan und im Adgar, ja *o* überwiegt im Adam und in den jüngeren Handschriften des Chardri. Die Schreibung *ou* endlich, die zuerst in der bald nach 1150 verfertigten Handschrift L des Computus in dem Worte *pentecouste* v. 3305 (Mall, S. 41) nachgewiesen ist und die erst seit dem Anfange des 13. Jahrhunderts mehr hervortritt, wird bevorzugt bei Angier, während hier *o* nicht so häufig, *u* noch seltener verwandt wird (P. Meyer 197); *ou* kommt auch häufig in der Handschrift V von Chardri, und mit Vorliebe, allerdings neben *o* und *u*, in Texten des 14. Jahrhunderts vor (Busch 23–24).” To the citations given by Stimming should be added: Philippe, in the Bestiaire, generally has *not* MUTTUM, as in Roland, Wace, Adam;¹ Brandan has *u*: *curs* CURSUS 609, *rus* 645, *tur* 1671, etc.;² Gaimar, like Brandan, has *u*: *amur*, *jur*, etc.;³ Brandan has *o* also;⁴ the Lois have *u*;⁵ Fantosme has *u*.⁶

Ö.

Free ö becomes *o*, *u*, *ue*, *uo*, *uu*: *note* 520, *sor* 280, 551, *dol* 410, 548, 587, *mor* 552, (cf. *mur* 168), *propre* 985, *volent* 73, 492; *mur* 168, *demurent* 92; *quer* 154, 317, 550, 835, 841; *quers* 314; *quor* 452; *fuur* FORUM 451.

Ö before a palatal consonant becomes *ui*, *iu*: *ennui* 560, (: *lui* pronoun) 538, *nuit* 60, 457, 717, 791, 795, 990, (: *deduit*) 728, *puis*, adverb, (: *truis*) 473, *hui* 559, *nuiz* 92, *quis*(*settes*) 826; *liu* 181, 862, *lius* 127.

Ö before a nasal consonant becomes *o*, *u*: *hom*, nom. sing., 43, 145, 247, 328, 571, 578, 700, (: *nom*, adverb) 135, *bon* 74, 89, 261, 288, 311, 407, 525, 532, 702, 991, *bone* 68, *bons* 128, 196, 199, 359; *hum*, nom. sing., (: *mun*, adverb) 366, *hume*, nom. sing., 135, 964.

¹ Walberg, pp. XLV f.

² Vising, pp. 71–72.

³ Vising, p. 83.

⁴ Vising, p. 73.

⁵ Matzke, p. XLVIII.

⁶ Vising, p. 93.

Ö before L' becomes *oi*: *doil* 169, *voil* 160, 177.

Ö before N' becomes *ui*, *oi*, *o*: *luin* 607, *bosuing* (: *poing*) 652, *loins* (: *poing*) 881, *long* 59.

Checked ö becomes *o*: *col* 220, 258, 266, 975, *cors* 405, 417, *fol* 179, 186, 208, 224, 245, 248, 252, 265, 294, 299, 311, 318, 320, etc., *foles* 375, *fols* 227, 269, 313, 321, 371, 412, 485, 489, 501, *fort* 67, 100, 103, 554, *forte* 110, *fors* FORTIS 336, *gros* 367, *grosse* 230, *hors* 386, 418, *for*[s] FORIS 664, *mort* 11, 17, 23, 424, 553, 965, *morz* 421, *port* 93, 140, *porte* 109, 122, *vostre* 173, 330, 348, 360, 400, *voz* 529, 826, *os* OSSUM 335, 337, *tost* 36, 84, 529. As in French, ö becomes *a* in *dame* 230, 361, 414, 589, 595, 849, 875, 939, 969.

Checked ö before a palatal consonant becomes *o*: *roche* 276, 863.

Checked ǫ plus L before a consonant becomes *ol*: *volte* 869, *volt* 6, 7, 9, 20, 221, 330, 390, 477, 535, 628, 654, 660, 678, 805, 946, 950.

Checked ǫ before a nasal becomes *u* and *o*: *sunge* (: *mensunge*) 456, *respunt* 79, 227, 269, 365, 385, 387, 407, 501, 573, 613, 658, 707, 711, 896, (: *mund* MUNDUM) 283, *hume*, obl. sing., 12, 215, *prudumes*, obl. plu., 112, *encuntre* 246, 452, *cunte(s)* COMPUTARE 407, 486; *home*, obl. sing., 594, (: *Rume*) 405, *hom*, obl. sing., 37.

The Anglo-Norman result of the development of Latin ö appears in various forms: *o*, *oe*, *oi*, *u*, *uo*, *ou*, *e*, *oi*, *ue*.¹ Our text has *o*, *u*, *ue*, *uo*, *uu*. *O* is found in Brandan,² Philippe's Bestiaire,³ Boeve,⁴ Oxford Psalter:⁵ *u* in Brandan,⁶ Boeve,⁷ Estorie des Engleis,⁸ Charlemagne,⁹ Oxford Psalter,¹⁰ Cambridge Psalter,¹¹ Rois,¹² Ste. Catherine;¹³ *ue* in Doomesday-Book,¹⁴ Boeve, rarely,¹⁵ Oxford Psalter;¹⁶ *fuor* is found in Auban in rime with *per* 105, with *des*-

¹ Vising, pp. 73, 74; Mall, p. 50; Stimming, pp. 206-208; Koch, p. xxviii; Walberg, pp. xlvi f.; Suchier, *Gram.*, § 28 c.

² Vising, pp. 73-74.

³ Walberg, pp. xlvi f.

⁴ Stimming, p. 207.

⁵ Meister, p. 66.

⁶ Vising, p. 73; Hammer, p. 95.

⁷ Stimming, p. 207.

⁸ Stimming, p. 208.

⁹ Koschwitz, *Ueberlieferung*, p. 28.

¹⁰ Harseim, p. 292; Meister, p. 67.

¹¹ Schumann, p. 34; Fichte, p. 63.

¹² Schlösser, pp. 40-41.

¹³ Jarnik, pp. 154-155.

¹⁴ Schwan-Behrens, *Gram.*, § 58 Anm.

¹⁵ Stimming, p. 206.

¹⁶ Meister, p. 66.

ploier 103; *quoer* occurs in Auban (: *duter*) 205, (: *chevaler*) 685, etc.; Alexis L.¹ has *quor*, *quons*. This *uo* is apparently a retention of the old written form *uo* for later *ue*, but with the phonetic value of the latter.

The interchange of *o* and *u* before a nasal consonant is not unknown in Anglo-Norman texts. It is found in Boeve,² Philippe's Bestiaire,³ and others.

Oil out of *ö* plus *L'* occurs in Brandan,⁴ Boeve.⁵

Liu LOCUM occurs in Chardry: Petit Plet 75, Brandan,⁶ Montébourg Psalter, Cambridge Psalter, Rois, Roland, Alexis 114°, Adgar, Wace.⁷ Suchier gives also, as Norman and Anglo-Norman occurrences, *lieu* Rois, *leu* Cambridge Psalter, Rois, Gaimar, Guillaume le Clerc. These last two forms do not occur in our text.

Loins and *luins* occur in Chardry.⁸

Ū.

Free and checked *ū* remain as *u*: *aventure* 394, *custume* 98, 536, *dure* 554, *grues*, 491, *hour* AUGURIUM 331, *dreiture* 790, *mur* 107, *nu* 39, *nues* 492, *nuez* 303, *plus* 24, *sus* 141, 299, 685, *treu* TRIBUTUM 330, *un* 92, 99, 188, 190, 192, 194, 211, 219, 261, 409, etc., *une* 7, 9, 109, 135, 155, 189, 219, 229, 230, 271, etc., *uns* 255, *unes* 203, *velu* VELUTUM 242, 243, *nul* 135, 158, 182, 405, 451, 571, 579, 580, 660, 889, *nuls* 43.

Ū plus a palatal consonant becomes *ui*: *deduit* 532, (: *nuit*) 727, 792, *anguisse* 841, 938, *dedure* 535. PUDITUM appears as *pute* 739 and *puite* 921.

¹ Suchier, *Gram.*, § 28 c.

² Stimming, pp. 192, 209.

³ Walberg, p. XLVII.

⁴ Visings, p. 74.

⁵ Stimming, p. 207.

⁶ Visings, p. 76.

⁷ Suchier, *Gram.*, § 32 c.

⁸ Koch, p. XXVIII.

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¹ An asterisk indicates those works which I was not able to examine personally. References to them are taken from other works to which I have had access.

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ERRATUM.—Read Montébourg Psalter for Montauban Psalter which is referred to in various places in the preceding pages.

ABBREVIATIONS.

In addition to the usual grammatical abbreviations the following are used:

- Afr. Bibl.—*Altfranzösische Bibliothek*. Heilbronn-Leipzig.
Aus. u. Ab.—*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*. Marburg.
Bibl. Nor.—*Bibliotheca Normannica*. Halle.
Fr. Stud.—*Französische Studien*. Heilbronn.
Gr. Gr.—*Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, hrsg. von G. Gröber, Strassburg: 1888-1897.
H. L. F.—*Histoire littéraire de la France*. Paris.
Q. u. F.—*Quellen und Forschungen*. Strassburg.
Rom.—*Romania*. Paris.
Rom. Bibl.—*Romanische Bibliothek*. Halle.
Rom. Forsch.—*Romanische Forschungen*. Erlangen.
Rom. Stud.—*Romanische Studien*. Strassburg-Bonn.
T. A. P. A.—*Transactions of the American Philological Association*. Cambridge-Boston.
Z. f. d. A.—*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*. Berlin.
Z. f. S. L.—*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*. Berlin.
Z. R. P.—*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*. Halle.
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LIFE.

I was born in Painesville, Ohio. My preparatory education was received in the public schools of Humboldt, Kansas, and in the preparatory department, since abolished, of the University of Kansas. My collegiate course was pursued in the University of Kansas, and from this institution I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. After graduation several years were spent in business, in travel and study abroad, and in teaching in a secondary school. In the fall of 1899 I entered the graduate department of The Johns Hopkins University, where I have pursued the following courses: as major course, French Philology and Literature; as first subordinate course, Spanish Philology and Literature; as second subordinate course, Philosophy. I have held the University Scholarship and the Fellowship in the Romance Department.

It is with pleasure that I take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude and indebtedness to those instructors who have guided my work since I entered The Johns Hopkins University: to Professor A. Marshall Elliott, Associate Professors Edward C. Armstrong and Philip Ogden, Doctors George C. Keidel and Murray P. Brush, of The Johns Hopkins University, Professor Frederick M. Warren, of Yale University, and Doctor Hugo P. Thieme, of the University of Michigan, in my major course; Associate Professor C. Carroll Marden and Professor Edward H. Griffin, of the Johns Hopkins University, in my first and second subordinate courses respectively.

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